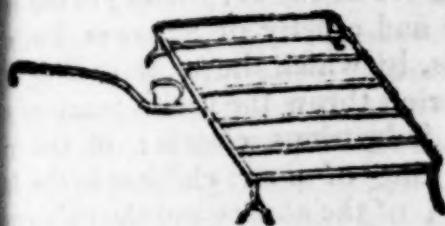


COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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STATE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS.

Bolt-court, 12. March, 1833.

In this crisis of the country's affairs, the best thing that one can do, is, to give an account of what has been done, and is doing, in the Parliament; for, it is there, and there only, that great good or great mischief can be done. My readers have been before informed of the rules and regulations adopted with regard to the receiving and disposing of petitions on public subjects. The petitions have come to me so numerous, that it was necessary to adopt some new regulation with regard to the receiving and the recording of them. The measure which has been adopted, consists, first, of holding a session from twelve o'clock to one (on days when there is no election-ballot) on every day in the week except Saturday and Wednesday, for the purpose of receiving petitions. It was proposed, in order to prevent a monstrous waste of time, that the petitions should not warrant any making of speeches upon them more than once on the part of any one member; that they should, when received, be referred to a select committee, consisting of Sir ROBERT PEEL, Sir ROBERT ANGLIS, Sir EDWARD KNATCHBULL, and that prime Member, Colonel DAVIES, and seven others, to determine what parts of any petition should be printed, and what parts not. This appeared to be to be a sad jumble; and, particularly, I objected, and do still object, to the placing of these petitions, with regard to the printing, at the absolute will

of PEEL'S-BILL-PEEL and his associates. There was still left a deal of room for *talking*; a monstrous latitude for occupying the time of the House in talking about these petitions. I therefore proposed that which I thought common sense dictated; namely, to have all the petitions presented to the House, the Speaker being in the chair; to have them read at full length, either by the member presenting them, or by the clerk at the table, whose voice is quite sufficient for the purpose. To have *no speaking* upon them at all, but, to let the people be heard for themselves upon their own words; then, to have all the petitions printed at full length; so that the people might know that their petitions had been read, in the first place, and then put upon record by the House, the *expense* of printing being a mere trifle; and be it what it might, an expense falling upon the people, and one which they would not grudge for their own sakes. Several gentlemen, amongst whom were two or three of the young lords, Mr. PALMER, Member for Berkshire, and others, were of my opinion. They thought, as I thought, that it would save a great deal of time, and give perfect satisfaction to the petitioners, which were two ends very desirable to be answered. This was not acceded to by the King's servants, and was not brought to be a question on which for the House to divide; so that the regulation above-mentioned still remains; that is to say, each petition is to be submitted to the committee aforementioned, who are to determine upon the printing or not printing of it, and every member present may, if he pleases, make *one* speech upon the presenting of every petition. I am satisfied that a large part of the petitions never can be presented at all if this regulation continues, and if my proposition be not adopted. However, such is the regulation at present in force; and there is another very important rule introduced which my read-

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ers who are disposed to send petitions, ought to attend to; that is to say, the rule which directs in what *order* members are to come forward with their petitions; for instance, until now, the custom has been, that those persons who had petitions to present, or other affairs to bring forward *de novo*, or originally, should go down and be present in the House at ten o'clock, put their names down on little slips of paper, see these put into a glass, see them taken out by the clerk, and see their names written down upon a list in the order in which they come out of the glass; then, when the Speaker came, he took the list, and called upon the members whose names were on it, in the order in which he found them. Instead of pursuing that course still, the rule now is, that all the members shall, whenever they like, put their names upon a list, without any balloting, to be called on by the Speaker, from the first to the last as they stand upon the list. In consequence of this new regulation, of which I was not apprized for some time, I stood number 128. So that I could present no petitions for a great many days, though I had a great load in my hands. Then, it was agreed, that for Friday last, and Monday last, no petitions should be presented but those which related to the bill which substitutes courts-martial instead of judges and juries in Ireland. Several of the members who stood before me on the list, had none of these to present; so that the turn reached me on Friday, but it reached me after the clock had struck *three*; so that I had to begin with my *thirty petitions* (of which I will speak more particularly by-and-by), and therefore I had the whole of the three hours before me, if I had chosen to occupy the whole time.

My readers will perceive, and I beg those who have sent petitions to me upon other subjects, to observe it well, that I have been thus absolutely excluded from the possibility of discharging my duty towards them so soon as I could have wished. I have petitions in great numbers, relating to great grievances of various descriptions; to alleged misconduct of magistrates; of partial

and heavy taxation; of the want of freedom at elections; of the possession of the property granted to the aristocracy at the time of the Reformation; of the injustice of the corn-laws; of the injustice and cruelty of *STURGES BOURKE'S* Bills, by which the petitions allege, that the rich throw the parish taxation upon the industrious classes: of the over-working of poor children in the factories; of the abuses and the existence of the established church in Ireland; of the abuses in the administering of the laws; of the existence of so many bishops in England; of the injustice of prosecuting men for publishing truth, and calling a libel; on the persecution of men for their religious opinions; on the extraordinary measures adopted towards Richard Carlile; on these, and on many other subjects, I have been honoured by having very able and very reasonable petitions committed to my charge; but, as the petitioners will perceive, I have been precluded up to this time, by the rules adopted by the House from presenting them; and I trust that the petitioners will give me full credit for feeling a much anxiety upon the subject as they possibly can feel themselves. I am aware of the vast importance of not chipping away the great right of petition. I am aware that if this great right be undermined, or in any manner done away with, general convulsion must be the consequence. If men be heard patiently, and have their words put upon record, they will repay that patience with patience of their own; they will wait; they will entertain hope; but, if that be taken away, they will see that there is no redress except in a resort to such means as I trust there will not come, after all, any necessity for resorting to.

On Monday, the eleventh, I went loaded to the House with my thirty petitions, which were as follows:

No. 1. " From the undersigned members of the working classes of *Godalming* and *Guildford*, praying relief from taxation, particularly in the articles of malt, hops, and soap. And also praying the

“ House to refuse its consent to the
“ bill for placing Ireland under
“ martial-law.

No. 2. “ From *Huddersfield*, against
“ the Irish Coercion Bill; 130 feet
“ long, with 9,300 signatures.

No. 3. “ From *Padiham, Lancashire*;
“ praying for a repeal of tithes in
“ Ireland, and that the House will
“ not pass the Irish Coercion Bill.

No. 4. “ From *Mr. Samuel Sidebottom, Hyde, clerk*; against the Irish
“ Coercion Bill, and for relief of
“ the country generally.

No. 5. “ From *Keightley, Yorkshire*,
“ praying the House not to pass
“ the Irish Coercion Bill, but to do
“ away with the Protestant church
“ establishment in Ireland, and a
“ repeal of the legislative union.

No. 6. “ From the undersigned inhabi-
“ tants of *Greenwich and Dept-
“ ford*, against the Irish Coercion
“ Bill, praying that poor-laws
“ may be extended to Ireland.

No. 7. “ From the undersigned inhabi-
“ tants of *Congleton, Cheshire*,
“ against the Irish Coercion Bill.

No. 8. “ From the undersigned at *Bar-
“ tonstreet, Yorkshire*, praying the
“ House not to pass the Irish Co-
“ ercion Bill, it being unconsti-
“ tutional, according to the Pre-
“ mier's own showing.

No. 9. “ From the undersigned inhabi-
“ tants of *Stratford-on-Avon*,
“ praying the House to send Ire-
“ land measures of liberty and jus-
“ tice, instead of bayonets; and,
“ therefore, to refuse its consent
“ to the Coercion Bill.

No. 10. “ From the inhabitants of
“ *Bledington, Gloucestershire*, pray-
“ ing the House not to pass the
“ Irish Bill. This petition is sign-
“ ed by nearly every male inhabi-
“ tant of the parish.

No. 11. “ From the freeholders and
“ inhabitants of *Eastry, Kent*,
“ against the Irish Coercion Bill.

No. 12. “ From the undersigned inhabi-
“ tants of *Lecanvy, County Mayo*,
“ against the Irish Bill, and for re-
“ dress of grievances.

No. 13. “ From the undersigned in-
“ habitants of the parish of *Castle-
“ Jordan, King's county*, praying
“ the House not to pass the Irish
“ Coercion Bill.

No. 14. “ From the undersigned, the
“ body of shoemakers of the town
“ of *Galway*, against the Irish
“ Bill, and for redress of griev-
“ ances.

No. 15. “ From the undersigned inhabi-
“ tants of *Clonpriest, Mayo*, pray-
“ ing the House not to pass the
“ Irish Coercion Bill.

No. 16. “ From the inhabitants of *Meli-
“ nagh, Ireland*, praying the House
“ to take the grievances of Ireland
“ into its consideration, and to re-
“ fuse its consent to the Coercion
“ Bill.

No. 17. “ From the inhabitants of the
“ parish of *Westport, Mayo*, against
“ the Irish Coercion Bill; and a
“ redress of grievances; for the
“ English Jury Bill, and for voting
“ by ballot.

No. 18. “ From the victuallers of the town
“ of *Galway*, against the Irish
“ Coercion Bill, and for measures of
“ relief.

No. 19. “ From the inhabitants of *Ta-
“ cumshaw, Wexford*, against the
“ Coercion Bill, and for measures
“ of relief.

No. 20. “ From the inhabitants of *Bally-
“ nashaney*, against the Coercion
“ Bill, and for redress of griev-
“ ances.

No. 21. “ From the members of the
“ *Westminster Society for the Dif-
“ fusion of really Useful Know-
“ ledge*, praying that the Irish Bill
“ may not pass.

No. 22. “ From the undersigned opera-
“ tives of *Warrington, Lancashire*,
“ praying that martial-law may not
“ be established in Ireland; and
“ saying, that, if that be done, it
“ will show that our boasted consti-
“ tution is a mere mockery.

No. 23. “ From *Castlebar* in the county
“ of *Mayo*, against substituting
“ courts-martial for trial by ~~jury~~
“ *fourteen* men.

No. 24. “ From the parishioners of *Eas-
“ trikeen*, against the bill, against
“ tithes, and church-rates.



No. 25. "From the inhabitants of the parish of *St. Michael* and *St. John*, in *Dublin*, against the bill.

No. 26. "From the borough of *Southwark*, in the county of *Surrey*, against the bill.

No. 27. "From the parish of *St. George the Martyr*, in the county of *Middlesex*, against the bill.

No. 28. "From the inhabitants of *Westminster*, against the bill.

No. 29. "From the undersigned inhabitants of *Marybonne*, against the bill.

No. 30. "From the undersigned inhabitants of the borough of the *Tower Hamlets*, in the county of *Middlesex*, against the bill."

The first thing that I have to observe, is, that since I presented these thirty petitions, I have received from Belfast; from Great Yarmouth, in Norfolk; from the parishes of Saint Nicholas-without and Saint Bridget, Saint Luke and the deanery, in the city of Dublin; from the inhabitants of the town of Callan, in the county of Kilkenny; from the members of the Sevenoaks Political Union, in the county of Kent; from Clitheroe, in the county of Lancaster; from the parish of Kilcormack, in the county of Wexford; and from the parish of Clone, in the county of Wexford; petitions containing many thousands of signatures, and all praying most earnestly that Ireland may not be deprived of trial by jury, and subjected to courts-martial. When I shall be able to present these petitions, or the other petitions of which I have spoken before, and which I have not yet presented, I do not exactly know; but the petitioners may be assured that I will not neglect this part of my duty, above all others; knowing, as I well do, that I can do nothing without the people at my back. My colleague is of the same opinion; and we are both ready, at all times, to act in conformity with that opinion. I shall now insert the published report of my speech upon the presenting of those petitions, observing, first, that I thought it much best not to speak upon each petition separately, but to make one statement in reference

to the whole of them, after having read the list of them, such as I have inserted it above. I had no desire whatever to consume the time of the House unnecessarily, and therefore I pursued this course; and, in future, I shall classify the petitions, which I have to present, so as to save time; so as to keep men's ideas distinct, and thereby to cause the petitions to have a better chance to produce their desired effect. I take the speech from the *Morning Chronicle*, not having any other paper at hand, and I insert it as being only substantially a report of what I said.

Mr. COBBETT said he had had the honour of having committed to his care thirty petitions, upon the subject of the bill before the House; and had not the petitioners, who had sent him, other petitions, understood that their petitions were to pass through the Post-office, post-free, he should have had several more petitions, each signed on an average by about 5,000 names. The rolls were large, and he had been compelled to return them to the Post-office, unless he had chosen to incur an expense of about 15*l.* in postage during the last week. He would occupy as little of their time as possible, and he would speak, once for all, upon the whole of the petitions, it being always his desire to trespass as little as possible on the time of the House. He could have occupied their time with petitions, but he had never presented one until now, and therefore he hoped he might be permitted to state generally the contents of his petitions. The first was from Guildford and Godalming, in Surrey, praying partly for a relief from taxation, but chiefly that the House would refuse to give its assent to a bill to place Ireland under martial-law. The next was from Huddersfield, to the same effect; it contained 9,300 signatures, and measured 130 feet long. It was more than twice as long as this House, passage and all, and all that length it was a yard wide. (Laughter). The petitions which he had to present, if spread on the floor of that House, benches, table, chairs and all removed, would cover the whole of

The next petition was from Padiam, in Lancashire; one from Hyde, in Cheshire; and one from Keightley, in Yorkshire, the latter praying the House to pause before it adopted a measure of coercion with regard to Ireland, and to do away with the tithes and the Irish hierarchy. These measures the petitioners stated to be the only means of restoring peace and tranquillity in that country. The next was from Deptford and Greenwich, signed by six or seven thousand persons, praying the House not to pass a law which was to cause the King's subjects to be tried before officers in the army, who were wholly dependent for their bread on the pleasure of the King's servants. The next was from Congleton, in Cheshire, the petitioners of which felt convinced that this measure was intended to be only the first step in that career of tyranny which would finally end in the total slavery of the people, or in a convulsion which would overthrow the Government. The next was from Bartonstreet, in Yorkshire, declaring the measure to be unnecessary and unconstitutional. Petitions also to the same effect from Stratford-on-Avon, from Bledington, in Gloucestershire, and from the parish of Eastry, in Kent, signed by all the freeholders in that parish except one. The petitioners perceived that the present measure was only a stepping-stone to the introduction of a similar one into England; that it was intended to continue the grinding system of taxation by means of military law; they relied upon the House, as he (Mr. Cobbett) relied that they would not pass it. The next was from a parish in the county of Mayo, asserting, as all petitions from that county had done, that the statements which had been made of its disturbed condition were entirely void of foundation. He presented petitions also from Castle-Jordan, in King's county; from the body of shoemakers in the town of Galway; from the inhabitants of Clonpriest, Mayo, and from Melinagh, in Ireland. The latter prayed the House to take their grievances into consideration, and to refuse their assent to a bill

which was to put the lives and liberties of his Majesty's subjects at the mercy of military officers. The next was a petition from the parish of Westport, in the county of Mayo, having the same object in view; and predicting, as he (Mr. Cobbett) did, that the bill would not pass; at all events, without very considerable alterations. The next petitions upon the same subject were from the town of Galway, from Tacumshaw, in the county of Wexford, and from Ballynaslaney; then he had one from the members of the Westminster Society for the Diffusion of really Useful Knowledge. The latter was not from the society that was patronised by high authority, but from one which showed the people the manner in which they were fleeced, and how the money was taken from their pockets—(hear, hear); not from a society, whose object was to make them content with empty bellies, but from one that taught them how they were taxed, while those who received the taxes escaped taxation altogether. They besought the House not to pass the bill in any form or shape whatever, but particularly deprecated the establishment of military tribunals, which, if once introduced into Ireland, they foresaw would soon be introduced into England. (Hear, hear). The next petition was from Warrington, very numerously signed, and a very sensible petition it was, praying that martial-law might not be established in Ireland, and predicting that if it were, it would soon be established here. The people all saw, from one end of the country to the other, that that would be the case, and they were resolved to resist it if they could. They said if it were done, our constitution would be a mere mockery. He cordially agreed with them; nay, he thought it would be much worse than a mere mockery; it would be the grossest insult to talk of the constitution. After reading the definition of a constitution, given by Blackstone, no person would have the impudence to talk of the constitution in any sensible company, if martial-law should be introduced into Ireland; there would, in fact, be no such thing as the constitu-

tion. The next petition was from Castlebar, in the county of Mayo, against the substitution of courts-martial for trial by jury. This was the grand hinge, and nothing could be so unpalatable to the people, as that the liberties of his Majesty's subjects should be dependent upon the appointment of a few young officers. Ambition and dread of poverty both operate powerfully in their minds (the strongest stimulants the human mind can have), to make them obey the commands of Government. The next petition was from Enniskeen. The next was from the parish of St. Michael, Dublin. The next was from the borough of Southwark, in Surrey. The next was from the parish of St. George the Martyr, Middlesex, against what the petitioners called the red-coat court-of-justice bill. (Laughter). The next was from the inhabitants of Westminster, to the same effect; but he would not repeat the name the petitioners gave to the bill. He believed they were quite in order in the appellation they affixed to it, but he did not like to pronounce it. The next petition was from the inhabitants of Mary-bonne; and the last was from the Tower Hamlets, also against the bill. The hon. Member then said, that there were thus thirty petitions on the table before them, the presentation of which had been intrusted to him; but as it would be vexatious to read them all through, he should not press for leave to do so. His opinion was, however, that it would be much more gratifying to the petitioners to have no speeches made on the presentation of their petitions, but that their petitions be read, and afterwards printed. What the petitioners wanted was, in the first place, to be heard, and the next thing they wanted was to have their words put on record. As to expense, he would undertake to find a printer who would print them all for less than the sinecure of Lord Grenville himself. Lord Grenville had had 4,000*l.* a year for doing nothing, and God knew he had had it long enough. Now, for 4,000*l.* a year, he would undertake to find a printer who would print every petition that was presented

to the House, and in a manner to be approved of by the clerk of the House. That would be the way to get rid of the petitions; but if the system was to be continued, of reading only the headings of them, and if some days hon. Members might speak about them, and sometimes they might not, the people would get out of temper; they would get dissatisfied with the House; they would consider themselves ill-treated, and it would not be difficult to conjecture what the consequence would be. He was sure he should not be thought out of order, if he made a few observations on the contents of the petitions before him. As he had said, there were thirty of them; and one speech (if it could be called so) for thirty petitions, could not be considered out of the way. (Hear). If every gentleman only made one speech on the presentation of thirty petitions, they should get on pretty well. The first which he would present, was the petition from Guildford, in the western division of the county of Surrey; and he presented that petition first, for several reasons, because it occasioned in his mind feelings of pleasure, of pride, of sorrow, and of shame. (Hear, hear). Of pleasure, because there was a body of Englishmen the most peaceable, the best-disposed, and the most industrious in England, who proved that they had a fellow-feeling for the people of Ireland, and had come forward to express their feelings in the most sensible manner; of pride, because this petition came from the spot on which he himself was born; of sorrow, because there were circumstances which had prevented the petitioners sending their petitions by their own immediate representative; of shame, because it was notorious that he himself had made extraordinary exertions to secure the return of that representative. The petition from Huddersfield was deserving of great attention. He was sorry he did not see the hon. Member for Huddersfield in his place, who had lately spoken respecting the condition of the people of Huddersfield. He said that the labouring manufacturers there were earning two shillings at

least day. people and of the not great that blish Hou that Eng wot bill scri gen pro sho the add cou ser wa he the fr se tit fie ob to th se p t s i m t f

least, and in general three shillings a day. By his representation, therefore, the people there were not a parcel of paupers, and this was a petition signed by 9,300 of them, praying that this bill might not pass into a law, and expressing the greatest disapproval of it. They prayed that military law might not be established in Ireland, because, if the House allowed it, they anticipated that the same would be extended to England. They further said that they would, by all legal means, resist the bill, and every other of a similar description. He should now state the general opinion and prayer of the petitioners. They said that they saw no proof produced by the Ministry to show that such a measure was necessary; they said that all the pretended proof adduced by Ministers, if produced in a court of law, would not be sufficient to send a beggar to a whipping-post. It was all hearsay evidence; not only hearsay, but anonymous; and how was the House to know but that it was got from spies, who were paid out of the secret-service money? One of the petitions stated (he believed the Huddersfield one) that they were astonished to observe that no clause was introduced to protect members of that House from the operation of the bill. He had never seen or heard of an oppressive bill being passed without such a clause being introduced. No such bill as this, without such a clause, was ever introduced even in the times of Sidmouth and Castle-reagh; no, not even in the time of the tyrant Pitt. In every former bill of this sort there had been a provision, that a member of that House could not be sent to prison, till a complaint had been brought before the House, and it had decided upon the imprisonment of the member. But this bill was aimed at the Members. By this bill he might go to Ireland one day, next day a proclamation might come out in the morning; he might be seized, taken before some of the red-coated gentry in the afternoon, and next day he might be in Botany Bay (general laughter), on his road to Botany Bay. (Renewed laughter). Well, then, sailing to Botany Bay. The

fact was, Ministers had been beat in the elections in Ireland. They saw a small band of members returned to that House, who were determined to do the people's work (cheers), and that was the reason why that bill had been brought forward. It was not a bill directed against Whitefeet or Blackfeet, or why put a stop to meetings in the open day? Why should members of Parliament be subjected to its operation, or why should those accused of libelling be dragged before those military officers? Members of Parliament were not midnight marauders; libellers were not Whitefeet or Blackfeet. The petitioners said, the measure was not introduced for the protection of persons and property; no, not even of the persons, but for the purpose of upholding the odious system of tithes. They were for the abolition of tithes in England, as well as in Ireland, and they considered this bill as merely a warning—as much as to say, "Take care what you are about; take care of what you say. "This bill is a mere trial of the patience of the people, and the provisions of it may be extended to England." (Hear, hear). He could assure the House that tithes were far from being popular in England, and would never have been paid so long in England, had it not been for the constant presence of soldiers and bayonets amongst the people. No doubt it was a hopeless sort of resistance when naked breasts were opposed to bayonets, but there might be circumstances to blunt the bayonets before they reached the breast. There was no man in his senses but must see that his Majesty's servants intended to reduce the whole of the country to military law. (Cries of Oh, oh! No, no). He said, yes, yes.) No man in his senses—no man who was not born an idiot, but must see it; but let the people only be convinced that that was the intention, then a struggle would take place such as never had been seen in this country. He had always been the advocate of a government of King, Lords, and Commons. But if there be a Government of King, Lords, and Commons, to give us courts-martial to

be tried by instead of judges and juries; if they were to take the constitution from England, the same as they were about doing from Ireland; then if it was reduced to a question whether the Government should be destroyed or the people enslaved, he should do all in his power to prevent the latter.

After this, I presented my petitions, one by one, the clerk reading the titles of them and the prayers, and then putting them by to be carried afterwards before the inspecting committee. Other members then came on with their petitions; but first, Mr. STRICKLAND, one of the members for the West Riding of Yorkshire, rose, and made observations of which the following is the report given in the *Morning Chronicle*; and, indeed, he could not very well remain silent after so large a part of his constituents had charged me with the presenting of their petitions. I do not pretend to be answerable for the very words, but the report is, I believe, substantially correct.

"Mr. STRICKLAND felt called upon to say a few words, in consequence of two of the petitions which the hon. Member had presented—namely, those from Huddersfield and Keightley. He knew many of those petitioners, who were men of the utmost respectability, and he felt convinced that they had no wish whatever to express their opinions too strongly; but the sentiments of freedom were strongly inherent in them. He could, however, not go to the full extent of supporting all parts of the prayers of these petitions, because he deviated from them upon this point, whether or not it had been proved by his Majesty's Government that there was a case of necessity for the course they had adopted, and he thought that a temporary departure from the constitution ought to be allowed for the protection of life and property. (Hear, hear). He should not support Government in the present measures, if he was not fully convinced they would carry on every desirable reform in the institutions of the country, and would, without delay, effect that which had been

"promised, but not performed; he meant the extinction of tithes. (Hear, hear). It was in the confidence that these measures would be brought forward that he now supported his Majesty's Government. (Hear, hear). He did not mean to disguise his feelings on the subject, but he must say, that never did the country, at any moment, place such confidence in men as they did in the present Ministers; and if they did not exercise that confidence for the good of the country, he was sure it would be quite impossible for them to carry the present measure. He hoped and trusted Ministers would immediately bring forward those measures to which he had adverted, redeeming every pledge they had made, and thereby preventing the expectations of the public from being disappointed."

"Mr. FIELDEN said, that he had been requested to support the petition from Huddersfield and others from the North, presented by his hon. Colleague; and in doing so with perfect cordiality, he took the opportunity of observing, that the hon. Member for the West Riding of Yorkshire had told us, that he gave his support to the Ministers in the measure relative to Ireland, because he considered it to be necessary, and because it was accompanied by a promise of remedial measures, amongst others, the *total extinction of tithes*, which he thought indispensable for securing the peace of Ireland; a promise, which he, (Mr. F.) had not heard made to the House: *commutation* had, indeed, been spoken of; but that was a very different thing from *total extinction*. Mr. F. said, that no case of *necessity* for the Irish Bill had been made out to satisfy him, and no proof produced, that the measure, terrible as it was, would be effective in the producing of peace and content in Ireland; and he, therefore, thought it his duty to support all the petitions, praying the House not to adopt this measure; and he most fervently hoped that the House would not disregard those prayers."

Colonel WILLIAMS, member for Ash-

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ton-under-Lyne, upon presenting petitions from Moseley and Stayley-Bridge, made these observations, thus reported in the *Morning Chronicle* :— “Colonel WILLIAMS presented two similar petitions from the hundred of Moseley and from Stayley-Bridge, both in the parish of Ashton-under-Lyne. The petitioners regretted the introduction of the Coercive Bill, as being founded neither in necessity, justice, nor humanity, but as subversive of every fundamental principle of free government. In his (Colonel Williams's) opinion, the power given in this bill ought to be intrusted to no ministry. He did not mean to say that he thought his Majesty's present Government would wish to abuse this power, but other Governments might succeed them who would be willing to take advantage of this bill as a precedent for the oppression of the people of England. It was principally on this ground that he objected to the severe measure now before the House.”

This is the *Chronicle's* report, which, as far as it goes, is substantially correct; but it does not go far enough to do the Colonel justice, for, to the above, he added this: “With regard to the observation of the hon. Member for Oldham, relative to the designs of his Majesty's Ministers, if not to believe that they had a design to introduce martial-law into England instead of trial by jury, a man must be a fool, *he, for his part, was a fool.*”

Sir JOHN MAXWELL, in presenting a petition from a body of persons in Renfrewshire against the bill, for the abolition of tithes and the Protestant hierarchy in Ireland, and for the introduction of poor-laws into Ireland, said that he agreed with the petitioners with regard to poor-laws for Ireland; but that he differed from them with regard to the rest of their prayer.

Mr. GILLON, member for the borough of Lanark, did ample justice to excellent petitions from that borough, as well as to several other petitions which were presented from his own county; and, Mr. WALLACE, Member for Greenock,

not being in time to present a petition from that public-spirited town, and having committed the petition to the care of Mr. Gilton, who was in town, these two gentlemen did full justice to that petition, and more than justice they could not do in endeavouring to give weight and consideration to the prayers of the petitioners, who, without any one single exception, are as much entitled to be heard and attended to, as any persons in this whole kingdom.

Now, as to other matters, which are before the House and coming before it, the division, on *Monday night*, on the *Irish Church Reform Bill*, was curious! Only 48 for further delay out of nearly 500! I voted against Old Bess's Church, and so I would, if the proposition had been to take only one hen's egg from her parsons; but, I did not, by that vote, say that the measure *satisfied me*. On the contrary, like “*Catholic emancipation*,” it will only make the matter worse: it recognises the right of Parliament to put down the church altogether, while it makes only a *small beginning* in the work. When to *establish* oppression is your object, proceed by slow degrees; but, if you mean to *lighten* the burden, do it all at once; *take the whole off*; for, the last pound weight of ten will seem heavier than the whole ten seemed. This measure does not take off one pound of the ten; and it will do nothing but add to the discontents.

The great question relative to the stamp duties and auction duties will be brought forward by me as soon as the Irish Court-martial Bill shall be disposed of; and, I promise my constituents, and the people in general, that I will bring it forward in a manner which shall either produce new acts of Parliament which shall cause the duties to be collected fairly in future, or which, at least, shall leave no doubt in the mind of any man living with regard to the manner in which the industrious classes have been treated ever since the present laws have been in existence. To those who have written to me upon the subject, I have to say, first, that I am very much obliged to them for the

information which they have given me: their letters may be said to contain the cries of the aged, the widows, and the fatherless. They may be assured of one of two things; namely, that either these laws must be changed, or we must be governed under the bill which is now under discussion. I trust that the former will be the case; and I promise my readers that my propositions upon the subject shall be so clearly just; and, at the same time, so effectual, while they shall be moderate and reasonable, that it will be impossible for the Parliament to refuse to adopt them, without openly declaring that those who live by the sweat of their brow shall continue to toil for those who do nothing.

I shall now proceed to notice those which I deem very interesting matters, and which have occurred within the last few days in the House of Commons. We are in a crisis; there must be a change: the struggle on the part of the King's servants is to prevent this change: if they succeed, which they may, if they please, for they have numbers on their side, the state of the country will be infinitely worse than it was before this reform took place, because, to suffering will be added disappointment; disappointment will be followed by despair, and of the result of despair no man can foresee the consequences. But as to numbers, the struggle when we come to matters of taxation, will not be like that which is now going on with regard to the Court-martial Bill for Ireland. There are many men, who are so positively pledged upon the subject of certain taxes, that it is impossible that the numbers of the Ministers can continue what they are upon this Irish bill.

Wednesday, 13. March.—At the noon sitting, some sharp talk arose upon the presenting of a petition from Ireland, the presenter of which took occasion to express his sorrow and alarm that the people of Ireland were running upon the banks for gold. The debate was somewhat as follows.

Mr. G. EVANS presented a petition from Swords against the bill. The

petition was drawn up in strong terms, and expressed the opinion of the petitioners that the right hon. Secretary for Ireland was unfit for his office, and called upon the House to address his Majesty for his removal. The hon. Member said, though he voted for going into committee on the bill, he was averse from the court-martial and fire-and-smoke clauses. The hon. Member also deprecated the manner in which this bill was being opposed in the south of Ireland, that was by a run upon the banks, and which could only be detrimental to the oppositionists themselves.

Mr. C. FITZSIMON supported the prayer of the petitions.

Mr. FINN said the people in Ireland were only imitating the English people when they wished to carry the Reform Bill. It was then said—"To stop the Duke, go for gold." These occurrences, he said, should convince his Majesty's Ministers of the mischievous character of this bill. He implored them to pause in time.

Mr. CHAPMAN also deprecated the run upon the banks in Ireland, as did also **Mr. W. Fitzsimon**, and another member, whose name we could not learn.

Mr. F. O'CONNOR said he was of opinion that this run for gold was fraught with the most deplorable consequences.

Mr. COBBETT regretted that he should find it necessary to differ from all the hon. Gentlemen around him, upon this most important subject. So far was he from conjuring the people not to go for gold, that he besought them by all means to do so. (Great sensation, and cries of No, no). Fortunately (said the hon. Member), there are not persons enough here to drown my voice, or, at all events, I will endeavour to make myself heard. A very wise man had said, that paper-money was strength in the beginning, but weakness in the end. Gentlemen might think what they pleased about the matter, but they might be assured that they were destined to endure military tyranny both in England and Ireland, unless, indeed, it were for the weakness of the Government or

casioned by this very thing. Yes, he repeated it, paper-money was weakness in the end. It was well known that the present Ministers would not now have been in their places—that the Reform Bill would not have passed, and that there would therefore have been a violent and a dreadful convulsion in the country, had it not been for the paper-money. The people ran upon the bank for gold, and forty-eight hours would not have passed over, without that bank stopping payment, had not Lord Grey been re-seated in his place. The people of England, at any rate, then, had got something by running for gold: he again entreated the people of Ireland to do as the people of England had done. (Great sensation, and cries of No, no). It was said, it would increase their sufferings; but could they be worse off than they now were? At all events, he said, anything rather than submit to military despotism. He would rather see England in confusion from one end to the other, than such an unconstitutional bill as that which was at present before the House should be passed. He would rather, even, that the whole country should go to the bottom of the sea; if he held the island by a string he would let it go under the water and go along with it himself, rather than see Englishmen live in submission to a tyranny like this. A man must be a born idiot not to see that this measure was merely a prelude to the introduction of the same thing into England: and he ventured to predict, that if this measure passed, and were carried into effect in Ireland, we should soon have a sort of military police established from one end of England to the other. He believed that the King's servants had it now under consideration to pass a law to establish in this country a police force like that in Ireland; a sort of *gendarmerie* like that in France, from one end of England to another. If the noble Lord were sitting upon the treasury bench, he believed he would not deny the fact. Against such a measure the people had no protection but the weakness of the Government, experienced from the paper-money. This

was a great curse and scourge in itself, but it would at last cure the evil it created. His advice therefore to the people of Ireland, was by all means run for gold. Honourable Members have told us that the people of Ireland would only add to their sufferings by this course of proceeding. This is what the people are always told when they use means of resistance. *Worse off!* How can they be worse off than be every moment of their lives exposed to be seized and crammed into a dungeon, without cause assigned! How can they be worse off than to be dragged, at the pleasure of the Lord-Lieutenant, before five officers of his army, and be by them transported for life to Botany Bay without trial by judge or jury! It was said, that it would throw the country into confusion; and I should be glad to know what confusion could produce worse consequences than must naturally arise out of this bill.

The SPEAKER here rose, but from the confusion that was occasioned in the House, we could not catch what he said.

Mr. COBBETT regretted that he should have transgressed any rule of the House, but had supposed he was perfectly in order. In conclusion, he remarked, that Ministers had just now appeared to be greatly afraid of political associations; but he would like to ask them what they thought of the new association for circumventing the King's Government in the creation of paper-money. He believed they called themselves the Currency Club.

Mr. LAMB deprecated Mr. Cobbett's call upon the people to run for gold, and was sure the hon. Member could not point out any good it would do to the people; on the contrary, it would increase their sufferings. He denied that there was any intention of bringing any thing like a *gendarmerie* into England.

Some more petitions were presented against the bill,

TODMORDEN PETITION.

Lord MOLVANBUX, one of the Members for the southern division of Lancashire,

presented a petition from Todmorden and its neighbourhood, against the Court-martial Bill for Ireland. He said that he could not support it. Upon the motion that the petition do lie upon the table, Lord MORPETH, one of the Members for the West Riding of Yorkshire, in which Todmorden is partly situated, rose, and took out a letter, which he read, decrying the petition and the petitioners, saying that they were few in number compared with the population of the townships from which the petition came, and that it had been hawked about, and was not signed but by a very small portion of the people of those townships.

Mr. FIELDEN said the petition presented by the noble Lord, the Member for Lancashire, came from the district where he resided, and he was very much surprised at the contents of the letter read by the noble Lord, the Member for Yorkshire; he understood the noble Lord to read that the petition was not signed by one respectable person in the district (No, no, the noble Lord said, not one tithe); well, not one tithe then, not one in ten. He (Mr. Fielden) would venture an opinion that the petition had the signatures of *nine-tenths* of the respectable inhabitants of Todmorden, and the immediate neighbourhood, affixed to it; if it had not so, why have not those who style themselves respectable got up a counter-petition, and sent it to the House, that we might know who they are? The petition was very respectably signed; it conveyed to the House the opinion of the inhabitants of the township it came from; he (Mr. Fielden) was well acquainted with their sentiments on this obnoxious Irish coercive measure, and that they entirely disapproved of it. The petition might have been got up in haste, knowing the speed with which measures like this were usually carried through the House; the noble Lord who presented it had had the petition in his care for several days; if more time had been allowed, it might have received more signatures; but it did not speak less

the sentiments of the neighbourhood " it came from on that account, but he required that the noble Lord who had read the letter should deal fairly by him and by the House. Whose signature had the letter to it, and what did it contain? Coming as he (Mr. F.) did from where the petitioners reside, and knowing their respectability and sentiments, he naturally felt indignant at the conduct of the writer, and could not suffer such a gross attempt to deceive the House, without exposing the party doing it to the contempt he or they may deserve. Would the noble Lord show him the letter? (The noble Lord consented to do so, and said it was signed Samuel Surcliffe). Was there any other signature, or had the noble Lord any other letter on this petition? (Lord MORPETH said he had none beside the envelope to the one he held in his hand). Mr. Fielden then concluded by saying that as neither of the noble Lords had supported the prayer of the petition, he (Mr. Fielden) felt it his duty to do so, and to state that he entirely concurred in the sentiments expressed by the petitioners.

[Mr. SURCLIFFE is a young attorney at Todmorden; his letter states, that the townships of Stansfield, Langfridd, and Todmorden, and Welsden, contain a population of 18,000; that the petition was got up by the Political Union; that it had only about 1,800 signatures to it; that there were but few respectable persons in the Union; that the respectable persons in the townships thought the measure for coercing Ireland a strong one; but they approved of it, because they thought it necessary; that signatures had been got to it from many persons who never saw the petition, nor knew what it contained, or what it petitioned for; that persons had been hired to go round to get it signed, after it had been for some days in different places without being signed, as was expected; that a party who met to read the *True Sun* had been mainly instrumental in promoting the petition; that Messrs. Fielden and Mr. George Ashworth were members of

the Political Union, and employed almost as many hands as the petition had signatures to it; and that, at the meeting of the Political Union, where the petition originated, a vote of censure was passed on one of the leading members of the Administration, for introducing into Parliament the bill for coercing Ireland, &c. &c.]

I have received a petition from the inhabitants and electors of the town of Nottingham against the Irish Court-martial Bill, drawn in a most able manner, containing several thousand signatures, and containing the names of a great part of those who possess the wealth, intelligence, and virtue, of that fine and patriotic town. I deem it a singular honour in having this petition confided to me.

Also a petition, signed by about fourteen or fifteen thousand persons, from Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and signed by the council and associates of the Great Northern Political Union; the first ten or a dozen signatures to which petition are the names of men every one of whom *ought to have been in this House*. My readers will recollect the power of petitions from this quarter, and under these same signatures, in saving the lives of the poor suffering labourers in the southern counties, in 1830 and 1831. From these petitioners came that loud cry of humanity, which roused the whole country upon that occasion. From them came also those blood-stirring appeals which roused the country, and urged it on in the cause of parliamentary reform. To have had this petition sent to me, instead of its being sent to the Members for Newcastle, Sir MATTHEW WHITE RIDLEY and Mr. HODGSON, is an honour much more than sufficient to gratify any ambition that I ever entertained; only, again I lament that several of these petitioners are not here to speak from their own lips that which they say upon paper. This was the great error at the last election: the people were taken by surprise: the word *reform* satisfied them: my exhortations, and the demanding of pledges even, were insufficient for the purpose of protecting them against

the effects of this error. It was not a mere pledge that was sufficient; it was not a man's having voted for the Reform Bill, which was to ensure the electors against that which they now behold. They ought to have been scrupulous with regard to the past conduct of the man; with regard to his present connexions; his dependance upon the Government or the aristocracy; his relationship with church preferment, and with military and naval promotion; to all which they appear to have paid no attention whatever. They may now be assured that this Parliament will last for seven years, unless there be some accidental termination to it sooner. They will see the result of the motion for triennial Parliaments; and when they have seen that, they will want nothing more to convince them that they have been very incautious in their recent conduct. However, death, and other accidents, will be continually making vacancies, and let the whole nation well watch the conduct of electors themselves in the fresh choices they shall make. There is a vacancy now in the borough of Marybonne, and the candidates are, one what is called a conservative, the other a Whig, besides whom there is Mr. MURPHY, who is a coal-merchant. This is the man for the electors of Marybonne; and the reasons for their electing him are neatly stated in the following paper, which has been started in the shape of a hand-bill, and which I insert here with very great pleasure, seeing that it proves that there are some persons, at any rate, who have good sense, in the borough of Marybonne.

Marybonne Election!

WHY AND BECAUSE?

Why are the People deprived of Cheap Bread?

Because the Landowners make the Laws.

Why are the Assessed and other Taxes made to press most on the Middle and Productive Classes?

Because the Laws are made exclusively by the Richer Classes.

Why, when a Tradesman dies, is his little Property made liable to most enormous duties, while the Rich Land-owner's Property remains untaxed?

Because Tradesmen are so thoughtless as to elect Rich Men for Law-Makers.

Why do the Stamp Laws tax the Poorer Classes two HUNDRED per Cent and the Rich Classes less than TEN per Cent.?

Because the Richer Classes only make the Laws.

Why have the Supporters of Mr. THOMAS MURPHY put him forward as a Representative for MARYBONNE?

Because he is in the same Rank in Society, and has the same Interest in Cheap Government and Equal Taxation with themselves, and is therefore more likely to advance the Interest of the great mass of the Electors of Marybonne.

VOTE

FOR

MURPHY.

The Central Committee meet Daily at the Queen's Head and Artichoke, Albany-street, Regent's Park.

This is plain common sense. It is curious that the *Morning Chronicle*, in stating the relative merits and demerits of the other candidates, never so much as names Mr. MURPHY! Dr. BLACK can see reason for passing the Irish bill, and he can see reason for establishing a *gendarmerie* all over England. This *Chronicle* has become a paper of rather more than equivocal character; but we shall see it fully exposed before this session of Parliament be over; it is apparently under the dictation of a great jawing, double-faced lawyer; but it, as well as that lawyer, will not be able to keep their heads aloft many months longer. The mountebank tricks of the latter are being daily exposed. Even Yorkshire, with all its enthusiasm, with all its facility of being duped by impostors; even Yorkshire, in spite of the silence,

the wonderful silence which has been hitherto kept by the great and formerly spirited town of Leeds; even Yorkshire has begun to perceive how it has been imposed upon, how it has been cheated; and though it will be able to obtain little redress, perhaps, as long as this Parliament shall last, it will be roused long and long before another election shall take place. To return, for a moment, to the electors of Marybonne; if they do not elect Mr. MURPHY they will deserve to bear their present burdens wholly undiminished. Between the other candidates there is not a straw to choose. One may sit at the back of Peel, and the other at the back of Althorp; but the Peeler will vote with Althorp, and he who sits at the back of Althorp will vote with Peel; so that if there were only these two, no man of sense would give a vote at all. That that borough should act rightly, considering who are its principal inhabitants, would to me be matter of surprise, unless the electors were protected by the ballot; but that they ought to suffer everything that men can suffer in this life, if they do not do their duty, must be the judgment pronounced on them by every good man in the kingdom.

IRISH RED-COAT TRIBUNAL BILL.

This bill went into a committee last night (Wednesday).—Mr. O'CONNELL began opposing it, by moving an instruction to the committee: a division took place, when the numbers were as stated below. He divided the House again upon the Speaker's leaving the chair. In the first division, there were 63 for Mr. O'CONNELL's motion, and 125 against it. On the second division, there were 151 against Mr. O'CONNELL's motion, and 34 for it. I regret that I have not the names of this last minority; but think it right, in justice to ourselves, to observe, that Mr. FIELDEN and I were two of that thirty-four. Upon the motion, that the preamble of the bill be postponed, Mr. O'CONNELL

rose to oppose it, and I had the pleasure to second his motion. A pretty long debate ensued upon this question, but Mr. O'CONNELL did not press it to a division. After which, the first clause was gone into, and the debate on it continued until a very late hour, when the chairman reported progress, and obtained leave to sit again, after which a whole string of orders of the day were gone through in a few minutes, each of them of vast importance ; but the members all going away, and the House in complete hubbub while this pondrous work was going on. Upon this occasion, it is impossible for me to refrain from expressing my admiration of the things done by Mr. O'CONNELL. I never had before an opportunity of witnessing his surprising quickness, and the irresistible force of that which drops from his lips. His sincerity, his good-humour, his zeal, his earnestness, his willingness to sacrifice everything for the cause of the people ; for the cause of those who never can serve him in any way whatsoever ; it is only necessary to be a witness of these, to explain why it is that the people of Ireland love him, and confide in him ; and why it is that he is so hated and detested by every one who has a tyrant's heart in his body. There is another description of men, too, of whom it is necessary to speak upon this occasion ; I mean those who are actuated by *envy*, and I do not here allude to any amongst his own countrymen ; for they all seem perfectly willing to acknowledge his superior claims to the confidence of his country. If he have any fault, it is that of letting the kindness of his disposition get the better of his justice ; but perhaps this is inseparable from those other qualities which have caused him to have such predominant sway over the minds of the industrious classes of his country. It is impossible to see the conduct which is observed towards him, without being convinced that his enemies are thoroughly persuaded that Ireland must have justice done her, or he must be destroyed. If all my readers could hear the words uttered with regard to him ; could see the looks accompanying those words ;

they would all have this conviction ; and if every man in England could see this sight and hear those sounds, all England, with one united voice, would pray to God to protect him against all his enemies. In short, without him, Ireland would be dealt with, just as the Government pleased, without the opposition of any resistance at all ; and, for my part, I should deem myself one of the worst of all mankind if I did not lend him all the support in my power. I may not, in all cases, be exactly of his opinion, even in matters relating to Ireland ; but, seeing him beset, as I do, leaving out of the question the probability of my opinion not being so correct as his, it is not for me to split hairs in such a case, to perk up my opinion in opposition to his, and under that pretence, leave him to be torn to pieces by his merciless foes. Last night, he filled everybody with astonishment at his powers, and especially at his surprising quickness. There he was, the mastiff, surrounded by that which I will not describe ; every one taking his bite, one behind, another before ; and he turning first to one and then to the other, and laying them sprawling upon the earth. To be able to do him justice, you must see him with thirty-four men only at his back ; with three hundred and fifty roaring out against him, and with twenty or thirty lying quiet in snug silence bursting with envy still more deadly than the open hatred of his foes. There will be reports of these debates. These reports will be as full and as correct as the circumstances will permit, but it is not in the power of man to do justice, not a tenth part of justice due to his zeal and his exertions on this occasion. For my part, I sat and looked at him with astonishment until eleven o'clock, when, finding that there would be no division that night, I came away. But my colleague, whose judgment is not inferior to that of any man, staid the debate out, and told me that, Mr. O'CONNELL carried on the war against his foes in a manner to surprise him beyond anything that he had ever seen in his life. Very often have we seen in the English papers, and particularly in

the *Times*, sneers at the Irish people, for being so wrapped up and so devoted to Mr. O'CONNELL: they have called the people deluded: faith, it is no delusion: they know him well, they know not only his friendship, but his efficiency; they know that he is worthy of their confidence. He has, indeed, as great reward as they can bestow upon him: to see him in the House surrounded by his sons, members of counties or great towns, he himself the member for the great metropolis of Ireland; to see him thus enjoying the greatest glory, the most heart-felt satisfaction that man can possibly enjoy, must give delight to every heart in which the base and venomous passion of envy has not taken up its residence.

LIST OF THE MINORITY OF SIXTY-TWO

(TELLERS INCLUDED)

Who voted for Mr. O'Connell's motion on going into the Committee on the Irish Disturbances Bill, "That it be an Instruction to the said Committee to preserve inviolate to his Majesty's subjects in Ireland that protection to innocent persons accused of crimes—the trial by an independent Judge of the law, and a freely and fairly chosen Jury."

ENGLAND.

Aglionby, H. A., Cockermouth
 Buckingham, J. S., Sheffield
 Bowes, John, South Durham
 Beauclerk, Major, East Surrey
 Cornish, James, Totness
 Collier, J., Plymouth
 Cobbett, Wm., Oldham
 Ellis, Wynn, Leicester
 Faithfull, George, Brighton
 Fielden, John, Oldham
 Guise, Sir W. B., Gloucester county
 Gully, John, Pontefract
 Hall, Benjamin, Monmouth
 Hume, Joseph, Middlesex
 Hutt, Wm., Hull

Hawkins, John, Newport
 Handley, Benjamin, Boston
 James, William, Carlisle
 Lister, Ellis, Bradford
 Parrott, Jasper, Totness
 Potter, Richard, Wigan
 Rippon, C., Gateshead
 Torrens, Col., Bolton
 Tayleure, W., Bridgewater
 Wood, Alderman, London
 Wilks, John, Boston
 Warburton, Henry, Bridport

SCOTLAND.

Oswald, R. A., Ayr county
 Oswald, James, Glasgow
 Wallace, Robert, Greenock

IRELAND.

Baldwin, Dr. H., Cork City
 Butler, Col. Kilkenny County
 Barry, G. S., Cork County
 Daunt, W. O. N., Mallow
 Fitzsimon, N., King's County
 Fitzsimon, C., Dublin County
 Finn, Wm. F., Kilkenny County
 Galway, J. M., Waterford County
 Lalor, Patrick, Queen's County
 Lynch, A. H., Galway City
 MacLaughlin, L., Galway City
 Martin, John, Sligo
 Eagle, Sir R., Westmeath County
 O'Brien, Col., Clare County
 O'Connell, Daniel, Dublin
 O'Connell, John, Youghal
 O'Connell, Morgan, Meath County
 O'Connell, Chas., Kerry County
 O'Dwyer, A. C., Drogheda
 O'Connor, Fergus, Cork County
 O'Connor, Den, Roscommon County
 O'Farrell, Moore, Kildare County
 Roche, William, Limerick
 Roche, David, Limerick
 Ruthven, E. S., Dublin
 Ruthven, Edward, Kildare County
 Snell, R. L., Tipperary County
 Sullivan, Richard, Kilkenny.
 Talbot, J. H., New Ross
 Vigors, N. A., Carlow

Tellers.

Grattan, Henry, Meath County
 O'Connell, Maurice, Tralee

Paired off for the amendment.
 Tynte, C. K., West Somerset
 Wigney, Isaac, Brighton

TO
PERSONS SENDING PETITIONS.

EXPERIENCE has now enabled me to give full instructions on this head.

1. If the petition weigh *less than six ounces*, it ought to be sent *open at both ends*, with the words, "Petition to Parliament" written on the cover; but with *no letter*, nor anything but the petition, enclosed.

2. If it be a *large roll*, or anything *weighing more than six ounces*, it may still come by post, tied up, or sealed up, with the words "Petition to Parliament" written on the cover, and directed to me; but, having *no letter*, nor anything but the petition, enclosed. In such a case, I am allowed to open the parcel, and, upon my sending *back the cover*, to the Post-office, with a *certificate*, that it contained *nothing but a petition, the postage is remitted*. The following note to me, from the Secretary of the General Post-office, will fully explain this matter.

"Sir Francis Freeling presents his "compliments to Mr. Cobbett, and begs "to place in his hands two petitions "to Parliament addressed to him, which "had been returned to the Post-office "as refused, on account of the charge "to which they were legally subjected "in the first instance under the pro- "visions of the act.

"In any similar cases hereafter, it "may perhaps save some delay, if Mr. "Cobbett will open the packet and "return the cover to the letter-carrier, "with a certificate on it, *signed by him- self, that it contained only a petition to Parliament*, which would be a sufficient voucher to enable the Post- master-General to direct the charge "to be allowed."

"General Post-office, 12. March, 1833."

3. Nothing can be more just, proper, and convenient, than this regulation. It leaves no one any right to complain. It is quite proper to require the certificate, signed by the member himself; otherwise

this privilege might be abused to an enormous extent. All, therefore, that petitioners will have to guard against is, the enclosing of *any letter*, or *any other thing*, besides the petition itself; for, if I find any letter, or any thing but the petition, I will *never certify*; and, of course, I cannot have the petition, which I shall send back to the Post-office along with the letter, or other thing, enclosed with it.

4. There is no need of *any letter to me* along with, or about, a petition. Those who do me the honour to send petitions to me, may *rely on my attention* to them. They must see, from what I have said in the former article, that it is impossible for me, or for any member, to present any petition, except accidentally, as soon as he receives it. But, the course that I shall pursue, even under the present regulation, will ensure the presentation in a reasonable time, and in the manner most likely to ensure to the petitions their suitable effect. It is very desirable, and, indeed it is our duty, to *husband our time*; and, by *classifying* my petitions, by laying them before the House in a distinct manner, by enabling the reporters to give a clear account of their tenor, I shall render them of more utility, than by presenting them in a promiscuous and desultory way; and I shall, by the same mode of proceeding, *save the time of the House*, which is a very great matter.

5. The *right of petition* is invaluable; and I exhort my readers to look upon it as a *duty* as well as a *right*. But, there are some rules to be attended to, and these ought not to be neglected, or disregarded.

FIRST; the petition should be written in a plain hand.

SECOND; however angry, and however justly, petitioners may be with the House, they ought to speak in language *not abusive*, at the least. No man ever wrote so many petitions to Parliament as I have: no

man was ever more angry with the House; but never did I write one that could be called other than perfectly respectful towards the House. In these compositions I have always found the means of saying *very hard things* in *very soft words*. Describe the *deeds and motives of others* as you like; but be, as I have always been, most respectful to those to whom you address your supplications; always observing, however, that the *King's servants, as such*, are not amongst those whom you address; and that, therefore, in speaking of *their actions and motives, truth* is all that you will have to consult; and I recommend to you to call them the *King's servants*, and by no other name; for that is what they are, and they are nothing more.

THIRD; if a petition consist of more than one sheet of paper, the sheets should be attached to each other by *good, strong paste*; for, if *separated* from the petition, they cannot, with propriety, be presented along with it.

FOURTH; if it be the petition of a *single person*, it is proper to put it on one side of a sheet of rather large paper, and to send it in *a roll*; and, in all cases, the hand-writing ought to be plain and pretty large, and the matter in distinct paragraphs; and the *prayer* very *clearly* stated. The petition ought not to be in the *form of a letter, turning over* from side to side; for, though that forms no objection to its reception, still it has a careless look, and not enough of *seriousness* about it.

6. Now, then, I have pointed out to my readers the manner in which they may easily perform their part of this *great duty*. Our country, which we all still love, in spite of the oppressions which we have to endure, is in a state *in which it cannot long remain*: that state must be *greatly changed*: look which way you will you see everything upon the

shake: you see the King's servants themselves with nothing but a *choice of changes* occupying their minds, at the very moment when they are setting all their old professions at defiance, in order to resist the adoption of those changes which alone can produce real tranquillity. *Great sacrifices* must be made by those who have hitherto made none, but who, on the contrary, have been always gaining. To induce them to make those sacrifices, by means that will not convulse the country, nothing will tend more powerfully than numerous petitions from the people, stating their complaints in respectful but firm language, but calling for reasonable and just methods of removing the grounds of those complaints. For my part, who have so long foreseen this crisis, it has always been my most anxious desire to see a *peaceable result*. I know well, that, *finally*, the people will triumph, and the country be as free and as happy as it ever was; but this is not enough for me; I want the *transition to be peaceful*; but, in order to give us even a *chance* of this, the aristocracy must, at once, *give way* so far as to satisfy the just and reasonable demands of the industrious classes, who have been so long and so cruelly suffering, and who now clearly see the real causes of those sufferings. The *Reform of the Parliament*, if it produce *no change in favour of the people*, will render them *more* out of humour, *less* disposed to bear oppression, than they were before, because, *now*, if no such change take place, they will reasonably conclude, that there is *no hope* of obtaining a redress of their grievances; to an absence of hope despair succeeds, and desperate actions follow desperate thoughts.

DISTRESSES OF THE PEOPLE.

THE following is a correct report of Mr. FIELDEN's statement relative to the distresses of the working people in the North, which statement having been very much misrepresented by the reports in the newspapers, and more misrepresented still by the comments in the lying newspapers of the North, I give it here, vouching for its correctness. It will be recollected that it arose on the debate of the 6. March, on the *sugar duties*, the granting of which duties Mr. FIELDEN opposed, seeing that the grievances of the people ought to be redressed before the granting of these, or any other, taxes.

Mr. JOHN FIELDEN: "A good deal having been said on the reduction of salaries and superannuated allowances, he would take the opportunity of submitting to his Majesty's Government a criterion, or guide, for making reductions in these charges. He would state the reductions which he had had to make in the wages of the poor man's labour. He and his partners employed between one and two thousand hands in hand-loom-weaving; and he would give to the House the wages which he had paid for a certain description of cloth, well known in the Manchester market, by the name of the third 74s. The House would perhaps better understand what this meant, when he told them that it was a light description of calico. This scale of wages he had taken from his own books; and his veracity on this subject he thought no one would venture to question. In 1814, the price for weaving one piece was 8s., and gradually fell, till, in the latter end of the year 1816, it was reduced to 2s. 6d. In 1817, it was advanced to 2s. 9d., 3s., and 3s. 6d.; and in September, 1818, to 4s. In February, 1819, it fell to 3s. 9d., and continued to fall, until, in September in the same year, it was 2s. 6d. In October 1820, the price was advanced to 2s. 9d., afterwards to 3s.; and in October, 1821, to 3s. 3d. In January, 1822, it had again fallen to 2s. 9d.,

" and continued stationary till May, 1823, when it dropped to 2s. 6d., and remained at this price until December, 1825, when it fell to 2s. 3d.; and in February, 1826, to 2s. In April it fell to 1s. 9d., in August to 1s. 6d., and in April, 1827, to 1s. 3d. In May it rose to 1s. 6d., in June to 1s. 9d., in August to 2s. In October it was reduced to 1s. 9d. In February, 1828, it advanced to 2s. In April it was reduced to 1s. 9d., in June to 1s. 6d.; in September it rose again to 1s. 9d.; in October it fell to 1s. 6d.; in December to 1s. 3d., and in May, 1829, to 1s. 1½d. The average price since had been about 1s. 3d. Some hon. Members, he had observed, laughed while he was reading this statement; he would assure those hon. Members, that it was no laughing matter for these poor work people who had by these reductions been subjected to severe and unparalleled privations. Hon. Gentlemen, he found, were sceptical, and even ventured to deny the distress, which he in former nights had described; but here was the proof. They need not now be at a loss to know what it was that had caused this distress, when they took into account that the labour which was paid with 8s. in 1814, had for several years of late been paid with 1s. 3d. He hoped that the noble Lord, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, would consider these facts. It might be asked why he had made these reductions; why he did not continue to pay more. This was an important question. And he would tell the House that he had with the greatest reluctance yielded to making these reductions; but he had been compelled by a necessity which he could not control. No Gentleman had taken more pains than he had to keep up the value of the poor man's labour. He had exerted himself in every way which he could devise to effect this object. But his exertions had been unattended by success, and he would tell the noble Lord and the House a fact connected with this statement of wages, which was very

" remarkable, and worthy of serious attention ; that, during the whole of the period from 1814 to the present time, he had given to his poor weavers nearly at all times, one-fourth part of the value, or price which the calico would sell for in the Manchester market. And this showed that this was the proportion that belonged to the weaver for this description of cloth ; that his employers could not give more ; and were exculpated from any blame for adopting the rate of wages which they had not had the power to alter. He had thus stated the hardships which the poor had had to undergo, and were still suffering from this fall in the value of their labour. He sat here as the representative of the poor, and his duty required of him to make their case fully known. But it might be asked did this bear on the question before the House ? He maintained that it did. When hon. Members talked of superannuation allowances, he would beg of them to consider the condition of these poor weavers, few of whom, though working hard from Monday morning to Saturday night, could earn more than 6s. a week. What he would ask, was that sum, to a man who had to support out of it himself, a wife, and two children ? What would any Gentleman in that House think, if he were obliged to try to support himself and a small family upon that sum ? How could he set to work ? Then what becomes of the poor weaver, when he ceases to have employment or gets unfit for it ? His employers cannot pension him off. They have not the means of doing so. And why should the Government adopt a course, in granting these superannuation-allowances, which they who are called on to furnish the means, could not adopt towards their own work people ? No ; these poor weavers when they cannot get employment, or sufficient wages for that employment, must go to the parish or starve. And yet these persons were the subjects of the King, and as much entitled to protection as those individuals, to whom

" hon. Gentlemen talked of giving retired allowances, on their giving up lucrative appointments. He would tell the noble Lord and his colleagues that, unless some means were devised of giving the poor more food and more clothing for their labour, they would not be able to keep the country quiet for any length of time. And the means would be wrested from them of giving superannuated allowances, or even salaries at all : the people were looking to this reformed Parliament for a redress of their manifold grievances ; and if their expectations were disappointed, very serious consequences might ensue."

IRISH COERCION BILL.

(*From the True Sun, 14. March.*)

A very numerous meeting of the inhabitants of the borough of Lambeth took place yesterday, at the Horns Tavern, Kennington, for the purpose of taking into consideration the propriety of petitioning the House of Commons not to pass the bill alleged to be for preventing disturbances in Ireland. The spacious room was crowded almost to suffocation. Shortly after one o'clock Mr. O'Connell entered the room, and was received with the greatest enthusiasm. The borough members (Mr. Tennyson and Mr. Hawes), Mr. Hunt, and several others, also took their places on the hustings.

Mr. BARTON, upon being called to the chair, shortly stated the object of the meeting.

Mr. FALL said it had fallen to his lot to propose the first resolution, in reprobation of a measure which he considered brutal and bloody, and which had for its ultimate object the destruction of the liberties of Englishmen as well as of Irishmen. The people of this country had long sympathized with the suffering people of Belgium, of Portugal, of Spain, and of Poland, and he was certain they would not deny their sympathy to that great and generous nation which

had nobly and disinterestedly assisted England in its struggle with theboroughmongers. But for the exertions of the Irish members, Lambeth would not now be a borough. (Loud cheers). The Whigs—the false, fleeting, Whigs, who had always liberty on their lips, but tyranny in their hearts, have been urged on in this measure by the Tories, who hoped by drawing on their rivals the popular indignation, to return once more to place and power. In his (Mr. Fall's) opinion there was but little difference between a Whig and a Tory ; the former being a thief, and the latter a robber. He had compared the returns of the number of offences committed in the British metropolis with the number of those committed in Leinster and Munster, and had found that crime prevailed to much greater extent in London than it did in those two Irish provinces. What, he asked, would be the ultimate consequence of passing the Irish Coercion Bill ? Why it would be extended to London, and so put an end to all political discussion here, a perfect military despotism would be established. The Whigs confessed that the evils of Ireland arose from a long-continued series of injuries inflicted upon her by corrupt governments ; nothing could be more true. The Irish had been goaded by injuries and insults to desperate acts, and now those who know the cause came forward with a measure not of amelioration but of revenge. But ought not redress to go before vengeance or severity ? He had seen by the papers that the aristocracy in this country had been subscribing for the distressed Irish clergymen, who it appeared had not been able to collect for the last two years the whole of their tithes. One of these rev. gentlemen had been obliged, by distress, to sell his library ; another of them had been forced to part with his curiosities ; but it seemed to be forgotten by our generous aristocracy, how many poor peasants might have been deprived of their scanty meals to have purchased this library and these curiosities for these rev. gentlemen. He concluded by proposing a resolution declaring the Irish Coercion

Bill to be unjust, unnecessary, impolitic, cruel, and inapplicable ; and that the meeting earnestly prayed the House of Commons not to allow the said bill to become law till remedial measures had been tried without avail.

Mr. O'CONNELL, upon coming forward, was received with loud and long-continued cheering. The hon. and learned gentleman said, the kind reception which he experienced, had dissipated the only apprehensions which had existed in his mind, namely, thinking he was obtruding himself in a borough with which he was wholly unconnected. He had felt that he should not be doing his duty to his suffering and devoted country, if he had abstained from stating to any body of Englishmen his opinions on the measure about to be introduced into that long-oppressed and much-injured nation. It had been observed by a preceding speaker, that a debt of gratitude was due from the English nation to the Irish Members for their warm support of the Reform Bill in all its stages. This he could not admit. They had done no more than their duty. They had, it was true, forborne pressing the grievances of Ireland upon Parliament lest they should impede that great question, which they supported from principle, although while it was a great and a noble boon to England and Scotland, it was but a scanty one to Ireland. On the motion for abolishing the sinecures in the army and navy also, whilst there was a majority of eighty-seven English and fifteen Scottish members against it, there was a majority of eighteen Irish members in favour of it ; and he felt confident that his countrymen would not forsake the course on which they had entered. They would be found supporting measures for the relief of England as for "their own, their native land." (Tremendous cheering). For his own part, it did not matter in what clime slavery existed, he would do his best to put it down. (Cheers). He came before a body of Englishmen, whom he had already found deeply sympathizing with the people of Ireland, to detail the story of its misfortunes, and to

complain of those dreadful measures about to be introduced under the sanction of a reformed House of Commons, and a Government professing to be the friends of liberty all over the world. He had asked the House, before suffering that dreadful measure to become law, that it would institute an inquiry into the actual state of his country. This was denied ; they would not waste even the short space of one fortnight ; and all the evidence they had submitted to Parliament was passages selected from anonymous letters. He should like to have seen who wrote those letters, or, at all events, he should like to know by whom they were signed. From such evidence as this, without knowing whether the letters were genuine or not, Ministers come forward and demand the implicit confidence of Parliament in carrying their despotism. The disturbances, he freely admitted, prevailed in a frightful degree in four of the Irish counties, and no one was more desirous than he was to put an end to them. He was certain he was more sincere in his wish to put an end to them than his Majesty's Ministers. He trusted he should live to see the day when Earl Grey would be impeached for the measures he was about to introduce into Ireland. When Earl Grey and his Whig colleagues came into office, what was the state of England ? In nineteen counties far greater disturbances prevailed than at present prevailed in any part of Ireland. In those counties large bodies of men went from farm to farm breaking the machinery, and then extorting money from those whom they had already injured. The night was rendered still more dreadful by the fires which prevailed. Since that time Bristol had been sacked ; the castle of one of England's proudest lords had been taken by storm and destroyed ; and yet Ministers did not dare to suspend trial by jury, or the *Habeas Corpus* Act. No : they knew better ; they well knew that Englishmen were composed of sterner stuff than to submit to such treatment. They sent special commissions into the counties, and they at the same time raised the agricultural labourers' wages.

Why not apply the measure to Ireland ? They would not only put an end to the outrages, but to the cause of them, namely, distress. (Cheers). The Whigs promised relief to the Irish people ; but, like the witches in *Macbeth*, they kept the word of promise to the ear and broke it to the hope. He had expected real relief for Ireland, but he had been miserably disappointed ; for out of their boasted reform of the church of that country, only 80,000*l.* was the good to be derived by the Catholic population. And in return for that, they would take away that palladium of the rights of Englishmen and Irishmen—their boasted trial by jury. A reformed House of Commons had suffered such a measure to be read twice, and thus placed the liberties of his countrymen in the hands of a pair of whiskered puppies, vomited from the hells of St. James's-street, and far more skilled in debauchery than in soldiery, and one superior officer. All of them men who might be cashiered tomorrow, without any reason being given for it. This was not, this could not be England, the land of the brave, and the home of the free ? It was, it must be Algiers. The hon. and learned Member then proceeded to describe the frightful atrocities which might be, and which had been committed, in Ireland, under military law, particularly referring to the statements made by Lord Cloncurry in the House of Lords ; and then examined in detail the various clauses of the bill, which he denounced in very strong terms, as a gross, unjustifiable, and daring violation of the rights of the subject. In speaking of the clause empowering the military to make domiciliary visits, the hon. Member said, an English blacksmith in the days of the imbecile Richard the Second, struck to the ground a tax-gatherer who had laid indecent hands on his daughter ; thousands of Englishmen applauded the deed, and flew to arms ; and although their leader was treacherously murdered, they obtained from that voluptuous tyrant a redress of their grievances. He trusted there were men in Ireland who would not suffer their daughters to be insulted with impunity. (Great cheer-

ng). The Whigs, he said, stated that this measure was rendered necessary by the fearful prevalence of crime in Ireland. But he asked, did not distress, the cause of those crimes, also exist? By the legislative union the manufactures of that country were destroyed, and the whole of its population thrown upon the land; the absentee landlords raised their rents, and the parsons raised their tithes, the consequence of which was, that thousands of Irish labourers came into this country to cheapen labour, and to reduce the wages of those who were already too low. Those who remained behind were reduced almost to a state of starvation. Hence the dreadful outrages which unfortunately prevailed, and which had been greatly increased by the deceitful conduct of the Government, who, after they had promised a redress of all existing grievances, had brought forward a measure far exceeding in cruelty and injustice any one ever brought forward by the infamous Castlereagh. The hon. and learned Gentleman concluded, by declaring his intention to visit at the close of the parliamentary session every borough in England, and detail the calamities which had been inflicted on Ireland. He would then return to his native land, to brave the dagger and the dungeon. Mr. O'Connell sat down amidst tremendous cheering; and shortly afterwards left the meeting, to attend to his parliamentary duties.

Some interruption had been experienced during part of Mr. O'Connell's speech, from a little knot of persons on the platform. They were now invited to come forward, but declined doing so.

Mr. POWELL and Mr. GOODE then addressed the meeting in support of the resolution.

Mr. GRADY wished to wipe off a stain that had been cast on the Irish nation by that *Joseph Surface* of real life—that most cunning of statesmen—Sir Robert Peel. He alluded to the tale with which Sir Robert Peel was said to have electrified the House of Commons, relative to a murder that had been committed in Ireland. He (Mr. Grady) was pre-

sent at the execution of the last of eleven who suffered for that murder. In the first place, Sir Robert Peel was wrong in stating the murder to have been committed in Clare; it took place in Limerick. (Hear). The high-sheriff of the county being a relative of his, enabled him to be near the gallows. The facts of the case were these: in the village of Palace Kenrick, in Limerick, there lived a man and his wife of the name of Dillane. Their cottage was a most miserable one; but by degrees it was improved. The thatch roof became seated. A great scarcity prevailed in that part of Ireland, and a great many threatening letters were sent to the neighbouring farmers. Several persons were taken up for those offences and convicted on the evidence of Dillane and his wife. The consequence was that Dillane was obliged to leave that part of the country, his wife and children still living in the cottage unmolested. At the end of seven months, Dillane returned to Palace Kenrick, where he lived quietly for some time. On the day of the murder, he and his wife went to a neighbouring fair, where they insultingly displayed the blood-money in the presence of those whose sons had suffered. In the evening the men, returning from the fair, greatly excited by the conduct of Dillane, knocked at the cottage door, called him out, and murdered him in the high road. After having perpetrated this deed, they entered the cottage, and murdered the wife. The right hon. baronet had stated that the child recognised the murderers by the light of a blazing turf, hastily placed on the hearth. Now, as to the probability of this story. It was admitted that the family had been some time in bed, previous to the perpetration of the murder. It was not probable, therefore, that there could have been much fire upon the hearth, and everybody who knew the nature of turf, knows that a piece of this material hastily thrown upon the embers could not have created a light sufficient to enable any one in a room to discern and identify the features of eight or ten persons; forty-seven men were appro-

hended on suspicion of the murder, and upon the sole evidence of the child, improbable as he (Mr. G.) had shown it to be, eleven of them were executed, of whom only two acknowledged their guilt, but declared that they did not enter the cottage, as stated by Sir R. Peel. It was worthy of remark, too, that these two men were arraigned with three others. During the examination of one of them, he stated that the three were innocent, upon which he was immediately sent back without being allowed to finish his tale. The three were found guilty, and executed, at places distant seven miles from each other, the living man being carried to the place of execution in the same cart which carried the dead body of the others.

Mr. TENNYSON, upon coming forward, was warmly received. He observed that he could not have supposed that the first measure which was to have been submitted to a reformed House of Commons, by a Ministry professing the most liberal principles, would be a bill for suspending the constitution upon such very inefficient evidence; but much less did he think that the House would have passed such a bill. He thought a time might arrive when it would be absolutely necessary to suspend trial by jury. (Loud cries of No, no). It was his opinion, and he should never shrink from expressing it. In the present instance no case had been made out. The hon. Gentleman here entered into a long detail of his Parliamentary conduct, which was interrupted by frequent bursts of applause.

Mr. HAWES, upon coming forward, experienced a very different reception from his hon. colleague. He attempted to defend his vote relative to the Coercion Bill, by expressing his confidence in Ministers, and of the absolute necessity of passing such a measure. He said that nothing but what he considered the most pressing necessity could have induced him to support it, and that he was resolved ever to maintain, as he hitherto had done, an independent course. He had twice voted against Ministers, and would do so again when he considered their measures to be un-

just. The hon. Gentleman continued to address the meeting for a considerable time, but the greater part of his speech was inaudible, from the noise which prevailed in consequence of his stating sentiments so much at variance with the feelings of the meeting.

Mr. HUNT also addressed the meeting in support of the resolution, which was put and carried unanimously, and a petition, founded on the same, was put and carried. Thanks having been given to the Chairman, and three cheers given for Mr. Tennyson, and as many groans for Mr. Hawes, the meeting separated.

GARDEN SEEDS.

I, some time ago, notified my intention of selling garden seeds this winter; and I am now prepared to do it. Those who have read my writings on AGRICULTURE and GARDENING, and particularly my "ENGLISH GARDENER," will have perceived that I set forth, with much pains, the vast importance of being extremely careful with regard to the seeds which one sows: and, as to which matter, there are two things to be attended to; first, the *genuineness* of the seeds; and next, as to their *soundness*. The former is the more important point of the two; for it is a great deal better to have no plants at all, than to have things come up, and, at the end of a month or two, to find that you have got a parcel of stuff, not at all resembling that which you thought you were about to have. Those who have read my *Gardening Book*, chap. 4, will want very little more to convince them of the importance of this matter. I have always taken great delight in having perfect plants of every description; but, to get into the way of raising good and true garden seeds, requires that you be settled upon some sufficient space of ground for *several successive years*; and it has been my lot to live under a Government, which, if you take the liberty to differ from it in opinion, has taken care to prevent you, by hook or by crook, from being settled in any

place, except one of its prisons, for any considerable length of time. Since, however, it, in a lucky hour, had the wisdom to pass PEEL's BILL, it has been rather less rummaging ; though it certainly *meant well* towards me in the year 1831. I have, however, been suffered to remain long enough at KENSINGTON to bring the seeds of a good many plants to what I deem perfection, and others nearly to that state ; and I have taken a little farm in Surrey, partly for the purpose of raising garden seeds upon a greater scale than I was able to do it at KENSINGTON ; this year I have raised a considerable quantity of seeds, which I now offer for sale in the following manner, and on the following terms.

It does not suit me to keep a *seed-shop*, and to retail seeds by the small quantity ; but to make up packages, each sufficient for a garden for the year, and to sell that package for a fixed sum of money. When I was driven to *Long Island* by SIDMOUTH's dungeon bill, and when the Hampshire parsons and SIDMOUTH and CASTLEREAGH chuckled at the thought of my being gone to mope away my life in melancholy, in the United States ; and when the famous traveller, Mr. FEARON, brought home word, that I was whiling away my life in a dilapidated country house, the paths to which were over-run with thistles and brambles ; when Mr. FEARON, that accurate observer, exclaimed, in the language of his brother SOLOMON, "Lo ! it was all grown over with thorns, and nettles covered the face thereof, and the post and rail fence thereof was broken down ;" when Mr. FEARON, in the fulness of his compassion, was thus exclaiming, I, though he found me in a pair of Yankee trowsers not worth a groat, was preparing to sell seeds in a house at NEW YORK, for which I gave fourteen hundred dollars a year. In short, I imported a great quantity of seeds from London, which I sold principally in the following manner :

I had *little boxes* made, into each of which I put a sufficiency of each sort of seeds for a gentleman's garden for the

year. The large seeds were in paper bags, and the smaller seeds in papers. In the box along with the seeds, I put a printed paper containing a list of the names of the several seeds, and against each name the *number*, from numbers *one* to the end : then, there were corresponding numbers marked upon the bags and the parcels. So that, to know the sort of seed, the purchaser had nothing to do but to look at the numbers on the parcels and then to look at the list. Many of these boxes of seeds went as far as LOWER CANADA to the north, and into the FLORIDAS, to NEW ORLEANS, and even to the West India islands, to the south ; and the net proceeds were amongst the means of enabling me to prance about the country ; amongst the means of enabling me to lead a pleasant life ; of enabling me to stretch my long arm across the Atlantic, and to keep up the thumping upon Corruption, which I did to some tune.

I intend to dispose of my seeds in the same manner now, except that I shall use *coarse linen bags* instead of boxes. The several parcels of seeds will be put up either in paper bags or paper parcels ; and a printed list with the *names* and *numbers* will be prepared ; and, then, the parcels and the list will be put into the linen bag, and sewed up, and will be ready to be sent away to any person who may want it.

A bag for a considerable garden ; a garden of the better part of an acre, perhaps, will be sold for *twenty-five shillings* ; and for a smaller garden, for *twelve shillings and sixpence*. These seeds, if bought at the shop of a seedsman, would come to more than three times the money ; and so they ought : for the seedsman has his expensive shop to keep ; has his books to keep ; has his credit to give, and has his seeds to purchase with his ready money. While, therefore, I have a right to proceed in my manner, he does nothing wrong. By the lists, which I publish below, the reader will perceive that, to the garden seeds I have added the seeds of several annual flowers. They are not of very *rare* kinds ; but they are all very pretty ; and, even these

flower seeds alone, if purchased at a seedsman's, would come, and ought to come, to pretty nearly one half of the money which I charge for the whole. Of some of the sorts of seeds the purchaser will think the quantity *small*; and, of these the cauliflower is one; but, it must be a thundering garden that requires more than three hundred cauliflower plants; and, if carefully sowed, agreeably to the directions in my *Gardening Book*, the seed which I put up is more than sufficient for any gentleman's garden; and I will pledge myself for the soundness of every individual seed. In the *small bag*, the quantity is in proportion to the price. Authors always want people to read their books; or, to purchase them at least. The reader will not, therefore, be surprised, that I *most earnestly exhort* all those who buy my seeds, *to buy my book, too*, and even then they will not have half so much to pay as if they had to purchase the seeds of a seedsman.

I have only one fear upon this occasion, and that is, that gentlemen's gardeners, who are in the habit of dealing with seedsmen, and who are apt to adhere too literally to that text of Scripture, which says that "he who *soweth abundantly* shall reap abundantly;" but, begging their pardon, this does not mean covering the ground with the seeds, which, though it may produce abundant reaping to the seedsman, is far from having that tendency with regard to the crop. *Thick sowing* is, indeed, injurious in three ways: first, it is a waste of seed and of money, of which it is actually a flinging away of both: second, it makes work in the thinning out of the plants: third, the plants will never be so fine if they come up thick. Therefore, in my *Gardening Book, chapter 4*, beginning at paragraph 85, I take very great pains to give instructions for thin sowing; and, if every one who cultivates a garden could see the regularity, the cleanliness, and the beauty, of my seed beds, never should we again see a parcel of seeds flung promiscuously over the ground. It is probable, that three hundred cauliflower seeds will lie in a thim-

ble; and if you want three hundred plants, it is better to sow these three hundred seeds in a proper manner, than to fling twenty thousand seeds over the same space of ground. You must cut the superfluous seeds up with a hoe, or pull them out with your hand; and, small as they are, and insignificant as you may think their roots to be, they rob and starve one another, even before they get into rough leaf. I know very well, that it requires a great deal *more time* to sow a bed of a hundred feet long, and with cabbages, for instance; a great deal more time to sow it in drills, and to put the seed in thinly, than to fling the seed thickly over the ground and just rake it in; but, look at the *subsequent operations*; and you will find that, in the end, this "*sowing abundantly*" costs ten times the time and the labour which are required by the method of sowing pointed out in my book. Therefore, let no man imagine, that to have a plentiful crop a great quantity of seed is necessary. When, indeed, you have reason to fear that the seed is not sound, and when you cannot obtain that which you know to be sound, it may be prudent to throw in great parcels of it in order to have the best chance to get *some* plants; but, hap-hazard work like this ought to be avoided, if possible; and, at any rate, I pledge myself, for the soundness of all my seed; I pledge myself that, if properly sowed, every seed that I sell shall grow. Thus far as to my seeds in general. I have now to speak of one sort of seed, which, as that horrible old Whig, Sir Robert Walpole, said of his bribes, "*is sold only at my shop.*" This is the seed of the **CISALPINE** strawberry: this strawberry, unlike all others that I ever heard of, *produces its like* from the seed; is raised with the greatest facility, bears most abundantly, and *keeps bearing until the hard frosts come*. The seeds are so small that a little pinch of them between the finger and the thumb is sufficient for a very large garden; and the method of rearing the plants is this: about the first week of February, or it may be a little later, fill

with fine earth, to within about an inch of the top, a flower-pot from twelve to sixteen inches over; take the little pinch of seed and scatter it very thinly over the top of the earth; then put some very fine earth over the seed a quarter of an inch thick, or rather less. Set the pot in a green-house, or in the window of any room where the sun comes, and give water very carefully, and very gently, as occasion may require. When the warm weather comes, the pot should be set out of doors in a warm place when there is no heavy rain, and should be taken in at night if there be any fear of frost. Towards the end of *April*, the pot may be set out of doors altogether; and, small as the plants will still be, they will be fit to be planted out in the natural round by the middle, or towards the latter end, of *May*. Then dig a piece of ground deep, and make it extremely fine upon the top, and put out the little plants in rows *two feet apart*, and *two feet apart* in the row; for, though not bigger than a thread, each plant will multiply itself into a considerable *tuft* before the middle of *July*; and then they will begin to bear, and they will keep on bearing as long as the hard frosts keep away. The very runners which proceed from these plants, will take root, blow, and have ripe fruit, during the first autumn. When the bearing is over, cut off all the runners, clear the ground close up to the *tufts*, and let the tufts remain to bear another year, when their produce is prodigious. But, then you must grub them up; for they so multiply their offsets, and so fill the ground with their roots, that they almost cease to bear if they remain longer. So that you must have a new plantation from seed every year; and the seed you may have yourself, by squeezing the pulp of dead-ripe strawberries in water, which sends the seed to the bottom of the water: you skim off the pulp, and drain away the water, then put the seed out in the sun to dry, and then put it up and preserve it for sowing in the winter. There is a *red* sort and a *white* sort, which you may keep separate or sow them and plant them promiscuously. And, now, to do justice to Sir CHARLES

WOLSLEY, who is my teacher as to this piece of knowledge, and at whose house, at WOLSLEY PARK, I saw, in September last, the finest dishes of strawberries that I ever had seen in the whole course of my life. They were served up in a mixed state, some red and some white; and the taste and fragrance were equal to the beauty. Sir CHARLES was so good as to make his gardener save me a considerable quantity of the seed, which, by the bursting of the paper, became mixed; and, therefore, the parcels of this strawberry seed, which I shall put into my packages, will, the purchaser will bear in mind, be some of the *white* strawberry and some of the *red*. After this long story about garden seeds, which, however, is not so execrably stupid as the impudent babble of the Whigs about having "*settled upon a Speaker* for the next House of Commons," I proceed to give a list of the names of my seeds, and of the numbers which are to be put upon the parcels; once more observing, that a large package of seeds will be sold for *twenty-five shillings*, and a small one for *twelve shillings and sixpence*. A direction may be sewed on the package in a minute, and it can be sent to any part of the country by the coach, or in any other manner, as the weight, even of the larger package, is only about 16 pounds.

KITCHEN GARDEN SEEDS.

No.

1. Asparagus.
2. Bean—Broad, or Windsor.
3. Long-pod.
4. Early Masagan.
5. Kidney (or French) Scarlet Runners.
6. White Runners.
7. Black Dwarf.
8. Dun Dwarf.
9. Robin-Egg.
10. Speckled.
11. Beet—Red.
12. Brocoli—White.
13. Purple.
14. Cabbage—Early Battersea.
15. Early York.
16. Savoy.

17. Cale—Curled—Scotch.
18. Carrot.
19. Cauliflower.
20. Celery.
21. Chervil.
22. Cress.
23. Cucumber, early frame.
24. Corn (Cobbett's).
25. Endive.
26. Leek.
27. Lettuce—White Coss.
28. Russia Coss.
29. Brown Dutch.
30. Green Cabbage.
31. Mustard—White.
32. Nasturtium—Dwarf.
33. Onion.
34. Parsnip.
35. Parsley—Curled.
36. Pea—Early-frame.
37. Tall Marrowfats.
38. Dwarf Marrowfats.
39. Radish—Early Scarlet.
40. White Turnip.
41. Spinage.
42. Squash (from America, great variety).
43. Strawberry—Cisalpine.
44. Turnip—Early-Garden.

FLOWER SEEDS.

45. Canterbury Bells.
46. Catch Fly.
47. China-asters.
48. Clarkia, (very beautiful).
49. Convovulus—Dwarf.
50. Indian Pink.
51. Larkspur—Dwarf Rocket.
52. Lupins—Dwarf Yellow.
53. Marvel of Peru.
54. Poppy—Carnation.
55. French.
56. Stock—White Wall-flower.
57. Scarlet, ten-week.
58. Mignonette.
59. Sweet-william.
60. Sweet Pea.
61. Venus's Looking-glass.
62. Virginia Stock.
63. Wall-flower.

FIELD SEEDS.

SWEDISH TURNIP SEED.—Any quantity under 10lbs. 9d. a pound; and any quantity above 10lbs. and under 50lbs.

8d. a pound; any quantity above 50lbs. 8d. a pound; above 100lbs. 7d. A parcel of seed may be sent to any part of the kingdom; I will find proper bags, will send it to any coach or van or wagon, and have it booked at my expense; but *the money must be paid at my shop before the seed be sent away*; in consideration of which I have made due allowance in the price. If the quantity be small, any friend can call and get it for a friend in the country; if the quantity be large, it may be sent by me.

MANGEL WURZEL SEED.—Any quantity under 10lbs., 8d. a pound; any quantity above 10lbs, and under 50lbs., 7d. a pound; any quantity above 50lbs., 6d. a pound; any quantity above 100lbs., 6d. a pound. The selling at the same place as above; the payment in the same manner.

TREE SEED.

LOCUST SEED.—6s. a pound.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, MARCH 8, 1833.

INSOLVENTS.

PETHURST, E., King-street, Holborn, tailor.
BELLMAN, J., Oxford, hair-dresser.

BANKRUPTS.

BATTYL, J., Fulbourne, Cambridgeshire, common-brewer.
BRIGNALL, T., South Mims, Middlesex, innkeeper.
BRINDLEY, J., Great Barr, Staffordshire, farmer.
BYRNE, F. L., Kingston-upon-Hull, wine-merchant.
CHAMBERS, T., Leamington Priors, Warwickshire, plumber.
DAVIS, W. D., Leamington Priors, Warwickshire, innkeeper.
GLOSSOP, J., late of Piccadilly, wax-chandler.
GRIFFITHS, J., High Holborn, confectioner.
HELLEWELL, J., Wadsworth, Yorkshire, worsted-manufacturer.
HOBDAY, S., Aston, Warwickshire, snuffer-maker.
HODSON, T., Westbromwich, Staffordshire, baker.

NEILD, D., Shaw Edge within Crompton, Lancashire, cotton-spinner.
 PARTRIDGE, W., Birmingham, wharfinger.
 TANSLEY, J., Little Dean street, Westmister, ironmonger.
 WOOLISON, J., Leamington Priors, Warwickshire, plumber.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATION.

SMITH, J., Glasgow, grain-merchant.

TUESDAY, MARCH, 12, 1833.

BANKRUPTS.

BENT, J., Bankfoot, Yorkshire, cotton-spinner.
 CANN, J., Broad-street, Bloomsbury-square, eating-house-keeper.
 GREEN, J., Birmingham, ramrod-maker.
 HARTLEY, J., Shifnal, Salop, huckster.
 HODGSON, R., Manchester, comou-brewer.
 MELLOR, J., Manchester, tailor.
 PRATT, H., Staffordshire, miller.
 SCOTT, E., Great Yarmouth, Norfolk, grocer.
 SPIVEY, J., King-street, Great Hermitage-street, provision-agent.
 TUCK, C., Great Yarmouth, Norfolk, shipwright.
 TWYCROSS, W., Godalming, Surrey, leather-dresser.
 WALKINGTON, R., High Holborn, upholsterer.
 WILLIAMS, J. M., otherwise John Williams, Totteridge, Hertfordshire, bill-broker.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, Mar. 11.—The arrivals from Essex, Kent, and Suffolk, fresh up to this day's market were moderate; but added to the supplies received since Friday, and the parcels left over from last market, caused the stands to be tolerably well filled with samples. The condition of the Wheat, though somewhat improved, still handled rough. A demand existing for shipment to Yorkshire as well as purchases being made on the part of the millers, caused the best qualities, particularly those from Essex, to realize an advance of 1s. to 2s.; and an extra lot might have reached 63s. The trade in secondary descriptions, however, was dull, and prices unaltered. In bonded corn no business transpiring.

Bright parcels of Malting Barley obtained fully their former currency, and in a few instances, 1s. per qr. advance was procured on a prime sample—34s. having been realized. For all stained and inferior descriptions the trade

ruled dull, as well as for distilling and grinding sorts with no improvement in their rates.

Malt continues to meet a languid sale.

Oats were in good supply, as well from Ireland as England and Scotland. The article hung heavily on hand, and experienced a slow sale at rather worse prices than this day week.

Beans sold at an enhancement of 1s. per quarter, the low price of the article having attracted some speculative purchases.

Peas without alteration.

Flour in good demand at fully as good prices.

Wheat	54s. to 63s.
Rye	32s. to 34s.
Barley	21s. to 23s.
fine	30s. to 32s.
Peas, White	30s. to 34s.
Boilers	36s. to 40s.
Grey	30s. to 34s.
Beans, Small	—s. to —s.
Tick	28s. to 30s.
Oats, Scotch Potato	22s. to 24s.
Feed	13s. to 18s.
Flour, per sack	48s. to 50s.

PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new, 38s. to 43s. per cwt.	per cwt.
Sides, new... 40s. to 44s.	
Pork, India, new.... 120s. 0d. to —s.	
Mess, new ... 70s. to —s. per barl.	
Butter, Belfast 78s. to 80s. per cwt.	
Carlow 72s. to 82s.	
Cork 74s. to 78s.	
Limerick .. 74s. to 76s.	
Waterford.. 66s. to 72s.	
Dublin 60s. to 67s.	
Cheese, Cheshire.... 52s. to 72s.	
Gloucester, Double.. 50s. to 60s.	
Gloucester, Single... 48s. to 50s.	
Edam 50s. to 53s.	
Gouda 48s. to 52s.	
Hams, Irish..... 43s. to 54s.	

SMITHFIELD.—March 11.

This day's supply of beasts was for the time of the year, moderately good; the supply of Sheep, Lambs, Calves, and Porkers, but limited—trade was, with Beef, Mutton and Lamb, rather brisk, at an advance of full 2d. per stone; with Veal and Pork rather dull, at Friday's quotations.

Full four fifths of the Beasts appeared to be about equal numbers of short-horns and Devons (principally) Steers and Oxen, Scots, and Norfolk home-breds, for the most part from Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, Northamptonshire, Buckinghamshire, and our western districts: and the remaining fifth about equal numbers of Welsh Runtu, Sussex Beasts, and Town's-end Cows: with a few Herefords, Staffords, &c from various quarters.

At least three-fifths of the Sheep were new Leicesters of the South Down, and different white-faced crosses: about one-fifth South Downs, and the remaining fifth about equal numbers of Kents, Kentish half-breds, and polled Norfolks, with a few pens of old Lincolns and Leicesters, horned Norfolk, horned and polled Scotch and Welsh Sheep, horned Dorsets, &c.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, March 15.

The arrivals this week are small. The prices are rather higher than on Monday.

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